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organized—organization took the burden and attempted to absorb all personal and peculiar deficiencies. But the new army is different and, notwithstanding its size, will remain individualistic and human. It contains such a vast number of our citizens that it has embodied within itself the characteristic qualities of our citizenship, qualities which lie at the base of our military morale. The new army may have the text of the same laws for its government, but these laws will have to undergo many modifications in practice, when applied to an establishment raised as the present establishment was. In it more attention will have to be paid to the individual and his qualities. More regard will have to be paid to his former nonmilitary status; more allowance will have to be made for his military imperfections. There must be a greater appreciation of the spirit and purpose which actuate the man. The training which the college man received in the study of the humanities has contributed to his qualifications in an unexpected and doubtless an unappreciated degree. Hereafter the training of an army officer will require more of the humanities. The study and knowledge of human beings will be a necessary part of the professional training of our officers. We regular army men have profited much from our contact with the college man, from whom we have received new views and new appreciations. The spirit of the new army is what caused it to win. This spirit must be understood and appreciated. The society man, the club man, the college man, and the farm lad all touched elbows in their daily associations and in each was bred a spirit of generosity and respect which served as the keystone of this remarkable human structure. Such a spirit is of the humanities and a knowledge of the humanities is required for its leadership.

#### THE OUTLOOKING STATE.\*

By M. P. Follett.

As we are no longer to talk of the "rights" of nations, so no longer must "independent" nations be the basis of union. In our present international law a sovereign nation is one that is independent of other nations — surely a complete legal fiction. And when stress is laid on independence in external relations as the nature of sovereignty, it is but a step to the German idea that independence of others can develop into authority over others. This tendency is avoided when we think of sovereignty; (1) as *looking in*, as authority over its own members, as the independence which is the result of the complete interdependence of those members; and when we at the same time (2) think of this independence as *looking out* to other independencies to form through a larger interdependence the larger sovereignty of a larger whole. Interdependence is the keynote of the relations of nations as it is the keynote of the relations of individuals within a nation. As no man can be entirely free except through his perfected relation to his group, so no nation can be truly independent until a genuine union has brought about interdependence. As we no longer think that every individual has a final purpose of his own independent of any community, so we no longer think that each nation has a "destiny" independent of the "destiny" of other nations.

The error of our old political philosophy was that the State always looks in; it has obligations to its members, it has none to other States; it merely enters into agreements with them for mutual benefit thereby obtained. International law of the future must be based not on nations as "sovereigns" dealing with one another, but on nations as members of a society dealing with one another. The difference in these conceptions is enormous. We are told that cessions of sovereignty must be the basis of an International Government. We cannot have a lasting International union until we entirely reform such notions of sovereignty;

that the power of the larger unit is produced mechanically by taking away bits of power from all the separate units. Sovereignty is got by giving to every unit its fullest value and thereby giving birth to a new power — the power of a larger whole. We must give up "sovereign" nations in the old sense, but with our present definition of sovereignty we may keep all the real sovereignty we have and then unite to evolve together a larger sovereignty.

This idea must be carefully worked out; we can take each so called "sovereign power" which we are thinking of "delegating" to a League of Nations and we can see that that delegating does not make us individual nations less "sovereign" and less "free" but more so — it is the Great Paradox of our time. The object of every proper "cession" of sovereignty is to make us freer than ever before. Is it to be "sovereign" and "free" for nations suspiciously and fearfully to keep sleepless watch on one another while they build ship for ship, plane for plane? Have England and Germany been proudly conscious of their "freedom" when thinking of Central Africa? When the individual nations give up their separate sovereignty — as regards their armaments, as regards the control of the regions which possess the raw materials, as regards the great waterways of the world, as regards in fact, all which affects their joint lives — the falling chains of a real slavery will reverberate through the world. For unrelated sovereignty with world conditions as they are today is slavery.

The idea of "sovereign" nations must go as completely as is disappearing the idea of sovereign individuals. The isolation of sovereign nations is so utterly complete that they cannot really (and I mean this literally) even see each other. The International League is the one solution for the relation of nations. Whenever we say we can have a "moral" international law on any other basis we write ourselves down pure sentimentalists.

#### JOINING THE ISSUE.

Boston, February 28.  
The National Magazine.

TO THE EDITOR:

A trip into Germany soon after the armistice convinced me that the real American ambassador in the war areas is the Doughboy. He is unconsciously foreshadowing international relations and the hope of any future alliance in the League of Nations. John Doughboy has in his back brain ideas that came from personal contact and observation that will count in the structural relations of nations.

As I passed miles and miles of Yankee troops hiking up the river Moselle into Coblenz, that ribbon of brawn represented ties that will bind. Stopping now and then to talk with the soldiers as they were resting from the hike, while the rolling kitchens merely steamed like molten tea-kettles at home, I felt I was closer to the solvents of Peace than in Paris. All Allied officers agree—to say nothing of Hun commanders—that there is no soldier just like the American Doughboy. This conclusion is without reflection upon other brave troopers; merely a recognition of initiative traits peculiar to America.

John Doughboy is first of all a natural-born cavalier, and yet there is nothing servile in his action. He would make himself at home in the moon if he should have been sent there to do things. The little German children clinging to his legs wanted chocolates and he gave to them. If an old lady needed extra help, in carrying a bundle across the street, he did it for her—he forgets racial charms in the call of humanity, but when the Germans begin their fawning methods and cringing flattery to escape justice, John Doughboy sits back and thinks—and there's a knowing look that is ever ready for the confidence men making a "three-shell" game. He knows the real shell game.

The American soldier is a greater wonder to me in times of peace than in war. He is the personification of the League idea, an ambassador without official status, that is making

\*From "The New State," by M. P. Follett, Longmans, Green & Co.